Director of Committee in Expression of Statistics

To The Subcommittee on Expression Statistics

OF THE JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

13 No ember 1959 a. In Washington, D. C.

ALLEN VE DURINGMEN

which your Committee is studying; namely, the comparison of the

There are proponents of the size that the Soviet Union is relatively backward. There are others who picture it as a galloping giant which exceeds us not only in its present speed but in staying power.

In the Central Intelligence Agency we devete a major effort to the analysis of this problem. We gather together the best technicians available, in and out of Government, to advise us on the various aspects of the Soviet economy --- from agriculture on the one hand to the most sophisticated technical and military items on the other. We have a great rule of evidence to weigh. We try to it without prejudice:

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We have also carcfully reviewed the papers, which your committee has already received and published; Toulars to be congrapulated on the general excellence of the systailles:

There are many reasons for the divergence of views
among experts. A greatedeal depends upon the particular sector of the Soviet economy that is under study.

The Soviet Union is extremely proficient in certain areas, especially in the scientific and technological fields related to its military effort. In other areas which up to the present time the Soviets have considered secondary, their performance ranges from fair to mediocre.

in some important areas, particularly agriculture, their efforts have been hampered by the tendency to impose on the tillers of the soil some of the precepts of Marz through the system of collective farms and rigid state control. Such Meological considerations, in recent years at least, have not hampered their progress in the field of science and technology.

Returning American experts after visiting the USBR reflect these contrasts. Those experts who have concentrated their study on Soviet achievements in the fields of steel production, heat resistant metals, electronics, aeronautics and space technology, atomic energy, machine tools, and the like, come back with the general findings that the USSR is highly competent.

are doing in agriculture, roadbuilding, housing, retail trade,

which in the consumer goods field, including textiles, find them

lagging far behind us. Some recent returning visitors to the Soviet

Union remarked with surprise that they can send a Limik to the

moon, but can't make the plumbing work.

This is a grade comparison but does help to illustrate where Soviet priorities lie.

The lag I have mentioned, does not reflect Soviet inability to do these particular things. It does evidence a definite decision to defer them to the higher priority objectives of industrial and military power and an unwillingness, at this time, to devote the funds and manpower necessary to the modernization of production equipment in the consumer goods field.

at first blush, one might conclude that the USSR was a country of contrasts but this is only superficially true. It is a country of concentration -- concentration on those aspects of production and of economic development which the Soviet leaders feel will enhance their power position in the world. They tend to neglect, or to postpone, those endeavors which would lead to a fuller life for their people.

The attitude they take toward automobiles is a good illustration of this policy. Mr. Khrushchev was undoubtedly impressed by the view he gained of our overall economic strength. Me was by no means persuaded that he should emulate us in the automotive field. In an address at Vladivostok about a month age, he said that it was,

"Mot at all our aim to compete with the Americans in the preducing of a large number of cars. . . We shall produce many cars but not at the moment. We want to set up a different system for the use of cars than the one in capitalistic countries . . . Cars will be used in our country more rationally than it is done by the Americans. Common taxicab parks will be widely developed in our country, where people will take cars for essential purposes."

He did not add, but it does cross one's mind, that his system also gives the regime a better chance to maintain its control over the people.

In effect Khrushchev is also implying that he does not propose to divert to car production resources which sould contribute to build up heavy industry and military strength.

Another illustration of the Soviet ability to concentrate and allocate resources for the greater power of the State is in the use the of highly skilled manpower including scientists and technologists.

Once they have determined upon a project -a and they have swer schelons of decisions to surmount than we before the final specifications in the upon a project the needed complement of the ablest technicians in the upon which the particular task demands. They can also quickly shlocate the necessary and mannewer takeratory or factory specifications. Today although their overall standards are far less than ours, they can allocate what is

They cannot do everything at once and they do not work on as many competing designs as we. But in many of the technical and military fields the leadtime from the drawing board to the finished product is less with them than with us. This seems to be true despite the fact that generally speaking the technical sumpetence of our labor, man for man, exceeds theirs.

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competition as respects brains in the planning, and brawn in the production, with the requirements for the manufacture of consumer goods. In the Soviet Union this type of competition now is applicable.

The Soviets are also quick to review injustrial and military programs when they find them inconsistent with their overall goals or too costly in terms of money or manpower. In 1956 they advertised widely a program in the field of auclear power for industrial and peaceful purposes, of 2,500 megawatts to be achieved in 1960. Gradually they have screened this down to a point less than 30% of their initial goal. Apparently they found it too costly for what they were achieving, whether in terms of electric power or in terms of its propaganda value.

while they keep as secret as they can, the details of their military programs and progress. Mr. Khrushthev did tell us that heavy bombers should be consigned to museuins and that he is generally turning from bembers to missiles. The evidence tends to bear out a change in policy here as well as in naval construction where the building of cruisers has apparently been halted.

programs than the Soviet tells us, their screen of secrecy makes it difficult to astimate with precision the exact percentage of the Soviet GNP which it absorbs. We estimate, however, that with a Gross National Product (GNP) of about 45% of ours, their military effort, in terms of value, is roughly comparable to our own -- a little less in terms of hardware produced but substantially more in terms of manpower under arms. Military hardware comes out of the most efficient sector of their economy.

With respect to the productivity of Soviet labor generally, the comparative picture is very different. Today they have on the farms over 45 million men and women, or nearly one-half of their total labor contingent. With us the numbers of workers in agriculture is only about 10% of our total labor force and with this force we produce about one-third more than does Soviet agriculture. In the industrial sector they have 20% more labor than we to produce the equivalent of about 40% of our total production.

It is the task of this Subcommittee, I understand, to reach some conclusions regarding the present strength of the Soviet economy, its past rates of progress, and its prospecia for future growth. With these introductory remarks on the general background of the Soviet economy and its overall objectives, I will turn to the particular subjects of your inquiry.

The year 1913 is taken as the base for many Seviet studies and claims. The Seviets try to picture pre-revolutionary Russia as the economic counterpart of Black Africa today. The official myth about the relative backwardness of Imperial Russia has been deliberately created so that communist economic achievements will appear to be even greater than in fact they have been. The Soviet party line would have you believe that Russian industrial output was less than 7 per cent of that of the United States in 1913.

Recently the dean of Soviet economists. Academician Strumilly, published a pamphlet which deflated official communist claims.

Colculated Soviet 1913 output at between II and 12 per cent of that the U.S. Having passed his 30th birthday, Strumilia, undoubtedly felt it was time to write objectively.

The weight of evidence, as I see it, would place pre-revolutionally Russia as the sixth or seventh largest industrial power of its time, though relatively backward by then existing Western European extendence of per capita output.

secrement development which were, of course, taken ever by the communists after 1917. For example, its agricultural output in 1913 was not only able to previde an adequate diet for its people, but also to generate an expert surplus. There was no pressure of population against food resources.

petroleum deposits and other essential industrial materials.
For example, Russia accounted for about half the world's production of petroleum in the early 1996's mariter his subsequent was jor discoveries in the United States, Russia's relative position declined, but in 1915, she was still a major world all producer.

Wen in 1913 Russia had a modest but growing machine building to destry, a well developed rail transport net, and a supply of technical talent.

So much for what existed prior to the communist takeover in 1917. The first major problems that faced the revelutionists were political and military -- to get Russia sut of the war with the political and military it get Russia sut of the war with the product, to bring the internal civil war to a successful conclusion, and later to resolve the buttle for control within the Communist Party itself which inliewed the death of Lenia. This took the better part of a decade. By 1928, three important developments had taken place:

internal power strugge.

Lecond, the economy and then been relatered to its 1913

Third, out of the murky dopma of Magnism and Leninism, the surviving Communist leadership had molded a pregram of accommic action which remains in force today.

The central theme of this program is forced draft industrialization.

liesdership proceeded to implement their decision through the mechanism of detailed plans, rigid allocation of resources, and the use of force where necessary.

In the short space of 36 years, from 1928, despite the ravages of four was years and several years of reconstruction between 1941 and 1950, the Bovist Union has become second among the world's industrial powers. There is no dispute on this point.

Furthermore, in reviewing the various studies of Western scholars. I have been struck by the substantial agreement on the rate of industrial growth achieved by the Soviet Union over the peniod since 1950. The range of estimates is from 9 to 10.5 per cent 2 year.

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and twice as rapidly as that of the United States succession.

Turning from industrial or specially among comprehensive, the many ways less significant, measure a sconomic growth.

Lawely gross national product, we find special parallels between the CIA and independent private at the soft Soviet seconomy.

the cade, 1950 - 1958, to have the at an amortiaverage rate of about I per cent measured in a result price. Estimates by others for similar time periods range run a low of periods to a high of per cent. The degree of agreebant is peru as even closer than this range would indicate since these estimates have varying initial and terminal dates within the pecade, this conclusion, then, is that Soviet GNP has also been proving twice of rapidly as that of the cover the past eight years.

Some observers have noted that, is the past, she listed that we recried long-term raise of growth comparitors in the solution and the solution would be true, for example, if the four necedes of U.S. growth ending with our entry into World War I were selected for comparison. Those who would play down Soviet achievements leap from this statistical springboard to the conclusion that there is nothing the case about Soviet industrial progress. I dead, they say, we did it the statistical states at a "comparable state of development in United States."

conditions that stimulated our growth prior to World War I. Such factors include the massive immigration of European Workers, the influx of investment funds to make possible off rapid rate of indistriction, and the low level of defense expenditures. The point is not only that these factors no longer exist in the United States, but also that they never existed for long in the Soviet Union.

Case The National Bureau study satinates Spylit appear industrial study sating the future, is the inclusion of the star study sating the future, is the inclusion of the star study sate for the USSR were marked by with internal and chaos.

These years for the USSR were marked by with internal and chaos.

Hy 1928 they were about back to the 1913 level. For example, Soviet steel production in the USSR in 1913 was a little over four million tons;

by 1928 it was still just a little over four million tone:

If the first 15 years are eliminated, as we believe they should, and growth is measured from 1928 through 1958, the conclusion is inescapable that Soviet economy has surged forward very rapidly indeed. The rate was faster than for American industry over these years, despite the effects of World War II, which stimulated industrial growth in the United States but was a disaster for the USSR.

But let us not forget that the West did the pioneering. Soviet industrial development was built upon, and profited from, the technology already developed by the West from the days of the industrial revolution.

goint frouth came from tooting plants in the country of the countr

Espionage and the reliance on outside technical experts, particularly German, is also alleged to have been of crucial importance to Soviet industrial success since Werld War II. In a few key industries of military significance, most particularly in atomic energy and in the field of ballistic missless, this had some importance in the very early stages of Soviet posters development, but looked at in the perspective of Soviet industrial military growth as a whole, and their present competence in both the ballistic and nuclear fields, these factors played a relatively minor role. They have gained much mere in the overall industrial field from the acquisition and sopyting of advanced westernimadels of specialized equipment.

Turning from the past to the future, we have not attempted to distill a "best estimated of future Soviet prospecta for economic growth out of the vagaries billo or 45 years of Soviet history.

Instead; we have asked ourselves three questions:

First, what have the Soviet shown a expectly to do under present prevailing conditions?

Second, what do the Soviet leaders intend to do, and

Third, what are the Soviet's prospects for the achievement of their goals, assuming there are no intervening catastrophies, such as war, famine, and the like.

As to the first point, Soviet performance on past plans/has
been relatively good. The Fourth Five Year Plan (1946-50) was
fulfilled well ahead of schedule. The goals of the Fifth Five Year
Plan were more than met.

The Sixth Five Year Plan was shandened saving in its life.
It soon was apparent that it was too ambitions. In contrast, the livery Fear Plan (1989-65) was more carefully arawn and is a reasonable bineprint of attainable growth. Separations teaches us that Seviet industrial plans should be taken spriously.

With respect to their intentions, the Soviet leaders have left no room for doubt. The obsession with evertaking the U.S. sconomy in the shortest possible historical time was the dominant theme of the Zist Party Congress held last February. It continues to be so. Mr. Khrushchev's words to the Congress were:

"The Soviet Union Intends to cutstip the United States economically . . To suspend the level of production in the United States means to diched the highest induced of capitalisms."

Visitors to the Soviet Usion report the sloger, "Even America must be surpassed," painted on the new barns throughout the country.

The USSR is now in the opening spages to development through 1965.

Into plan establishes the fermidable task of there asing indistrict output by 80 per cent over seven years. The achievement of this wall narrow the present gap between Spylet and United States.

The strict output. This would be particularly ares in the basic raw texterials and producers goods fields.

in our judgment, these goals can be met, with certain exceptions.

Past Soviet aconomic growth has rested largely at the plowing back of every possible ruble into healty industry, into the means of production. It is the new of steel to make steel capacity greater, rather than to use it up by manufacturing automobiles, for example.

Plan, the Plan that runs through 1965, is improvable by an allocative of comparison. Capital investment in Soviet budgets, for the year of comparison. Capital investment in Soviet budgets, will supercontentally equal to industrial investment in the United States.

The Soviets plan proportionately larger investment outlays accreeding years through 1965. These absolute amounts of avertment are being fed into an industrial system whose output in the was only about 40 per cent of the United States. Under such the cold draft feeding the Soviet industrial plant should grow at a tapid rate.

On the other hand, we'er no prospecifikal the agricultural calls of the Seven Year Plan will be approached. The Gramatic increase of 7 per cent per annum achieved over the 1953-50 period was the result of a six-year effect to value agriculture out of the trough is which Stalin had left if. A variety of factors including weekend inputs of resources, rows efficient use of resources, and at least two unusually good weather years contributed to this scored growth.

We catimate, however that there recourse and efficiency

grind will not be repeated in the present placehold. Given a verifical treather, not agricultural output will properly action rease under the loven Year Plan more than 18 to Ediper course i 1968; Such a mode at a growth is well below the implied planned artist of 35 - 60 per cent. Hof course the regime may be attimulated to undertake drastic new programs or new resource commitments not presently planned.

To cause the agricultural sector of the Soviet agencmy in the past has been its least efficient component we do not reject the possibility of more improvement than we presently forecast.

Apart from the problem of agricultural growth, the Soviet ander the procent Seven Year ian will be forced to cope with certain oreseable difficulties, in addition to the supredictable -- such as acts of God and the uncertainties which might attend possible policy changes incident to any new management in the Kremlin. While these foreseeable problems are significant we believe their impact is more thely to place a ceiling on the Kremlin's ambitions for overfulfillment wither than to threaten the success of the plan itself.

Miralia.

hencen, these foreseasile lectors are the following:

is ab obvious gas between the 1958-65 increase to the gumber of between in the working age group (15-69) and the labor force increment macessary to meet the planned roals. The regime has recognized this problem and is taking steps to fill the gap. The new mader arms, the surplus of people on the farms (if more allicient techniques are introduced into agriculture) and students ound unqualified for advanced aducation, are possible sources of adultional manpower for industry.

Second, the metallurgics; raw material and the energy industries, which were slighted in the rapid expansion of the 1950-56 reviod, must now be brought into belance with the rest of the economy. These former stepchildren will be receiving about half of all industrial investment under the Seven Year Plan. This pattern of concentration of investment means that other industries which contributed much to growth in the recent past will no longer make the same relative contribution.

the need for a vastly increased bousing program and the glaim of construction resources for this purpose. It must compele with bigher priority "material strength" requirements in the industrial construction sector. It will call for improvement over past performance in completing construction of industrial projects with the time and funds allotted.

Fourthly, the regime faces a complexity of problems in its stampt to increase its automatica and mechanization programs.

Finally, as we have already suggested, the Soviet leadership will have difficult decisions to search in dealing with the popular desmand for more consumer goods. We believe that they now settimate that they can get eway a the a wight gradual improvement which will be highly publicies?, and probably eneggerated. This improved in the case of the date as of a few days ago promising some additional consumer goods. If, however, the popular demand should prostly increase and the forcist leaders made very substantial money stone in this field, it would effect the Seven Texa Field goals.

in the recent past, we project a moderate slowdown in the rate of total Soviet output, or gross national product, over the next seven years, compared to the past seven years. However, even so, the USSR will achieve significant gains by 1965 in its self-appointed task of catching up with the United States, particularly in industrial should production and will substantially most the industrial goals of the Seven Year Plan.

Thus we estimate that soviet GNP will grow at the rate of per cent a year through 1965, and even assuming that the United States gross national product for the years 1956 through 1965 can be increased to an annual growth rate of from 3.5 to 4 per cent, our best postwar growth rate, then Soviet GNP will be slightly more than 50 per cent of ours by 1965, and about 55 per cent by 1970. I would emphasize that we must increase our recent rate of growth, which has been less than three per cent over the last six or seven years, to hold the Soviets to such limited gains.

Approved For Release 2001/03/02: CIA-RDP a in the industrial sector has race will It likely that the Soviets will continue to grow that for 9 per cent a year. If they do so, the seals about 60 per cent of our industrial productions prov industrial growth rate averages 4 1/1 per test per al decrease in this rate would of course parrow the gap. For example, if our rate were to average the ! per cent which Khrushchev believe is the best we have in us, by 1970 the Soviets' industrial production would be more than 80 per cent of ours if they maintain the rate of growth forecast.

no reason to accept Soviet exaggerations of their prospects in the scommic race.

Year Plan. Khrushchev mass. aumber of statements about Sovie economic power which we're nothing more than withing thinking.

Specifically, he stated that, "after the completion of the Seven."

Year Plan, we will probably need about five more years to catch up with and entering the United States in industrial output."

Thus," he added, "by that time (1979), or perhaps even sooner, the Soviet Union will advence to first place in the world both in absolute volume of production and in per capita production.

From other evidence before us we do not believe that Mr. Ehrushchev left the United Status with any such illusion.

First of all, to reach such improbable consistence, the Kremlin leaders overstate the present comparative position.

They claim USSR industrial suspect to be 50 per cent of that of the U.S. It is in fact neares 40 per cent. Also, as I have mentioned. This is predicated at Theoreteker's forequest that our promits will be only I pay cant I pays which. I trust, is wholly account will be only I pay cant I pays which.

Another of Chrushchev's promises to his people is that they
will have the world's highest standard or living by 1976. This is a

Cross emageration. It is as through the shrings had learned to

continually raising the level of production of consumers goods, their consuming public still fares very badly in comparison with ours.

This is true not only in the quality and quantity of their consumer goods, but particularly in the hours of labor needed to purchase comparable products. Last year, for example, Seviet citizens had available barely enesthed the total goods and services available to Americans. Indeed, the pay capita living standard in the Soviet Union today is about one-fourth that being enjoyed by our own people.

The Soviet government last manual annumed the program for increasing the production of certain durable consumers goods which I alluded to above. The degree did not mention automobiles but included refrigerators, seving machines, vacuum cleaners, and the like.

Actually, the new program revers only about it's per cost of fewlet industrial production, and even in this sarrow tree raises.

Seeks out modestly above previous plans. The decree is one of a series introduced to provide a trickle of further benefits to the consumer at relatively small cost to the state. This does not mean that Soviet industrial investment or military programs ared be reduced.

There is another sconomic area where the world has been treated to propagate statements by Ehrushchev. Last February he claimed and has since repeated many times, that the socialist camp "now accounts for over one-third of the world's industrial output" and "will produce ever half of the total world industrial output by 1965."

Actually, total industrial production of the "socialist camp, the USSE, the European Satellites and Red China - is only about 25 per cent of total world output. By 1965, it will be a few percentage points higher but Free World production will still account for over 70 per cent of the total.

To summarise and conclude:

- (1) The communists are not about to insert the world economically. But while we dehant the distortions of their propagands, we should frankly face up to the very sobering implications of the Soviet economic program and the striking progress they have made over the last decade.
- The fulfillment of the present Seviet Seven Year Plants a major goal of Soviet policy. Phrusichov and the Kremlin leaders are committed to it and will allocate every available resource to fulfill it. The present indications are that Phrusichev desires a period of "esemisteries" in which to reach the objectives of this plan.
- Soviet military spending could increase by about 50 per cent by 1955 without increasing the relative burden on the economy.

  Additional improvements in the Soviet standards of living can also be made without exceptibility the present emphasis on heavy industry and armaments.

- and the services needed to further expand Soviet specialists penstration of the uncommitted and the underdeveloped nations of the Free World. These gains will also permit the Soviet to further assist in the rapid economic growth of the Kremlin's pastern ally. Communist China, if Soviet policy considerations
- (5) If the Soviet industrial growth rate persists at 2 or 9 per cent per annum over the next decade, as is forecast, the gap between our two economies by 1970 will be dangerously marrowed unless our own industrial growth rate is substantially increased from the present page.

(6) The major thrust of Soviet economic development and its high technological skills and resources are directed toward specialized industrial, military and national power goals. A major thrust of our economy is directed into the production of the consumer type goods and services which add little to the sinews of our national strength. Hence, neither the size of our respective grass national products nor of our respective industrial productions is a true measure yard stick of our relative national power positions.

The uses to which economic rescribes are directed largely determine the measure of actional power.